

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

622 **ALTHOUGH** the Indians have no code of laws for
623 their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty
624 in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity. On them the people rely entirely, believing that what they do, or determine upon, must be right and for the public good.

623 Proud of seeing such able men conduct the affairs of their nation, the Indians are little troubled about what they are doing, knowing that the result of their deliberations will be made public in due time, and sure that it will receive their approbation. This result is made known to them by the chief through the orator, for which purpose they are called together and assemble at the council house; and if it be found necessary, to require a contribution of *wampum*, for carrying the decision of the chiefs into effect, it is cheerfully complied with by the whole assembly.

622 'The chiefs are very careful in preserving for their own
217 information, and that of future generations, all important deliberations and treaties made at any time between them and other nations. Thus, between the years 1770 and 1780, they could relate very minutely, what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers, at their first meeting and afterwards, and also the transactions which took place with the governors who succeeded him. For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promi-

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sing young men in these matters, they assemble once or twice a year. On these occasions they always meet at a chosen spot in the woods, at a small distance from the town, where a fire is kindled, and at the proper time provisions are brought out to them: there, on a large piece of bark or on a blanket, all the documents are laid out in such order, that they can at once distinguish each particular speech, the same as we know the principal contents of an instrument of writing by the endorsement on it. If any paper or parchment writings are connected with the belts, or strings of wampum, they apply to some trusty white man (if such can be had,) to read the contents to them. Their speaker then, who is always chosen from among those who are endowed with superior talents, and has already been trained up to the business, rises, and in an audible voice delivers, with the gravity that the subject requires, the contents, sentence after sentence, until he has finished the whole on one subject. On the manner in which the belts or strings of wampum are handled by the speaker, much depends; the turning* of the belt which takes place when he has finished one half of his speech, is a material point, though this is not common in all speeches with belts; but when it is the case, and is done properly, it may be as well known by it how far the speaker has advanced in his speech, as with us on taking a glance at the pages of a book or pamphlet while reading; and a good speaker will be able to point out the exact place on a belt which is to answer

* When, between the years 1760 and 1768, the noted war-chief Pontiac had concerted a plan of surprising and cutting off the garrison and town of Detroit, while in the act of delivering an impressive peace oration, to the then commandant Major Gladwyn, the turning of the belt was to have been the signal of the attack by his forces, who all had their guns, which previously had been cut off to large pistol length, hidden under their blankets. So I have been informed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Detroit, and by the Indians themselves.

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217 to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech bag or pouch.

202 A message of importance is generally sent on to the place of its destination, by an inferior chief, by a counsellor, or by the speaker, especially when an immediate answer is expected. In other cases, where for instance only an answer to a speech is to be sent, two capable young men are selected for the purpose, the one to deliver the message or answer, and the other to pay attention while his companion is delivering it, that no part be forgotten or omitted. If the message be of a private nature, they are charged to draw or take it *under ground*, that is, not to make it known to any person whatsoever, except to him to whom it is directed. If they are told to enter *into the earth* with the message or speech, and rise again at the place where they are to deliver it, it is to desire them to be careful not to be seen by the way by any person, and for that purpose to avoid all paths, and travel through the woods.

622
202 No chief pays any attention to *reports*, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is *officially* and in due form apprised of the matter, he will, if questioned on the subject, reply that he had *not heard* it. It will, until then, be considered by him as the *song of a bird which had flown by*; but as soon as he is *officially* informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation, whose situation entitles him to receive credit, he then will say: "I have heard it;" and acts accordingly.

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195 The Indians generally, but their chiefs more particularly, have many figurative expressions in use, to understand which requires instruction. When a nation, by message or otherwise, speaks to another nation in this way, it is well understood; but when they speak to white people after this manner, who have not been accustomed to such language, explanations are necessary.

CHAPTER XL.

SHORT NOTICE OF THE INDIAN CHIEFS TAMANEND AND
TADÉUSKUND.

•622 THE name of TAMANEND is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his real history is known. The misfortunes which have befallen some of the most beloved and esteemed personages among the Indians since the Europeans came among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues. No white man who regards their feelings, will introduce such subjects in conversation with them.

All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is, that he was an ancient Delaware chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the great and good Spirit; for he was a stranger to every thing that is bad.

When Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton in New Jersey, was, about the year 1776, sent by Congress as an agent to the western Indians, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamanend in honour and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest

mark of respect which they could shew to that gentleman, who, they said, had the same address, affability and meekness as their honoured chief, and therefore, ought to be named after him. 622

The fame of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous. In the revolutionary war, his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint, and he was established under the name of *St. Tammany*, the Patron Saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars, and his festival celebrated on the first day of May in every year. On that day a numerous society of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with buck's tails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town which they called the *Wigwam*, where after a *long talk* or Indian speech had been delivered, and the *Calumet* of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth. After dinner, Indian dances were performed on the green in front of the wigwam, the calumet was again smoked, and the company separated. This association lasted until some years after the peace, when the public spirited owner of the wigwam, who generously had lent it every year for the honour of his favourite saint, having fallen under misfortune, his property was sold to satisfy his creditors, and this truly American festival ceased to be observed. Since that time, other societies have been formed in Philadelphia, New York, and I believe in other towns in the union, under the name of *Tammany*; but the principal object of these associations being party-politics, they have lost much of the charm which was attached to the original society of *St. Tammany*, which appeared to be established only for pleasure and innocent diversion. These political societies, however, affect to preserve Indian forms in their organisation and meetings. They

● 622 are are presided over by a Grand Sachem, and their other officers are designated by Indian titles. They meet at their "wigwam," at the "going down of the sun," in the months of snow, plants, flowers, &c. Their distinguishing appellation is always "The Tammany Society."

TADEUSKUND, or *Tedenakung*, was the last Delaware chief in these parts east of the Allegheny mountains. His name makes a conspicuous figure in the history of Pennsylvania previous to the revolution, and particularly towards the commencement of the war of 1756. Before he was raised to the station of a chief, he had signalised himself as an able counsellor in his nation. In the year 1749, he joined the Christian Indian congregation, and the following year, at his earnest desire, was christened by the name of *Gideon*. He had been known before under that of *Honest John*. It was not until the year 1754, that his nation called upon him to assume a military command. The French were then stirring up the Indians, particularly the Delawares, to aid them in fighting the English, telling them that if they suffered them to go on as they before had done, they would very soon not have a foot of land to live on. The Susquehannah and Fork Indians (Delawares) were then in want of a leading character to advise and govern them, their great, good, beloved and peaceable chief *Tudemé*, (commonly called *Tuttemi*) having some time before been murdered in the Forks settlement by a foolish young white man. They, therefore, called upon Tadeuskund to take upon himself the station of a chief, which, having accepted, he repaired to Wyoming, whither many of the Forks Indians followed him.

Whatever might have been Tadeuskund's disposition towards the English at that time, it is certain that it was a difficult task for him, and would have been such for any other chief, to govern an exasperated people, entirely devoted to the opposite interest. This may account for

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his not having always succeeded in gratifying our government to the extent of their wishes. Yet he did much towards lessening the cruelties of the enemy, by keeping up an intercourse with the governor of Pennsylvania, and occasionally drawing many from the theatre of war and murder, to meet the colonial authorities at Easton or Philadelphia for the negotiation of treaties, by which means fewer cruelties were committed than would otherwise have been.

His frequent visits to the governor, and to the people called Quakers (to whom he was much attached, because they were known to be friendly to the Indians) excited much jealousy among some of his nation, especially the Monseys, who believed that he was carrying on some underhand work at Philadelphia detrimental to the nation at large; on which account, and as they wished the continuation of the war, they became his enemies.

From the precarious situation Tadeuskund was placed in, it was easy to foresee that he would come to an untimely end. Perhaps no Indian chief before him ever found himself so delicately situated; mistrusted and blamed by our government and the English people generally, because he did not use his whole endeavours to keep his nation at peace, or compel them to lay down the hatchet; and accused by his own people of having taken a bribe from the English, or entered into some secret agreement with them that would be of benefit to himself alone, as he would not suffer them to inflict just punishment on that nation for the wrongs they had done them, but was constantly calling upon them to make peace. The Five Nations, on the other hand, (the enemies of the Delawares and in alliance with England,) blamed him for doing too much for the cause which they themselves supported, for making himself too busy, and assuming an authority, which did not belong to him the leader of a band of women, but to them, the Five Nations alone.

• 622 To do justice to this injured chief, the true secret of his apparently contradictory conduct must be here disclosed. It is said by those Indians who knew him best, and who at that time had the welfare of their own nation much at heart, that his great and sole object was to recover for the *Lenni Lenape* that dignity which the Iroquois had treacherously wrested from them; thence flowed the bitterness of the latter against him, though he seemed to be promoting the same interest which they themselves supported. He had long hoped that by shewing friendship and attachment to the English, he would be able to convince them of the justice of his nation's cause, who were yet powerful enough to make their alliance an object to the British government, but here he was greatly mistaken. No one would examine into the grounds of the controversy between the Delawares and the Five Nations; the latter, on the contrary, were supported in their unjust pretensions as theretofore, and even called upon to aid in compelling the Lenape to make peace. This unjust and at the same time impolitic conduct, of which I have before taken sufficient notice,* irritated to the utmost the spirited nation of the Delawares, they felt themselves insulted and degraded, and were less disposed than ever from complying with the wishes of a government which sported in this manner with their national feelings, and called in question even their right to exist as an independent people.

Surrounded as he was with enemies, Tadeuskund could not escape the fate that had long been intended for him. In the spring of 1763, when the European nations had made peace, but the Indians were still at war, he was burnt up, together with his house, as he was lying in his bed asleep. It was supposed and believed by many who were present, that this dreadful event was not accidental,

* See above page 30. and see the Errata with reference to that page.

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but had been maturely resolved on by his enemies, whoever they were, and that the liquor which was brought to Wyoming at the time, was intended by them for the purpose of enticing him to drink, that they might the more easily effect their purpose. A number of Indians were witnesses to the fact that the house was set on fire from the outside. Suspicion fell principally upon the Mingoes, who were known to be jealous of him, and fearful of his resentment, if he should succeed in insinuating himself into the favour of the English and making good terms with them for his nation. It is said that those Indians were concerned in bringing the fatal liquor which is believed to have been instrumental to the execution of the design. 622

While Tadeuskund was at the head of his nation, he was frequently distinguished by the title of "King of the Delawares." While passing and repassing to and from the enemy with messages, many people called him the "War Trumpet." In his person he was a portly well-looking man, endowed with good natural sense, quick of comprehension, and very ready in answering the questions put to him. He was rather ambitious, thought much of his rank and abilities, liked to be considered as the king of his country, and was fond of having a retinue with him when he went to Philadelphia on business with the government. His greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drinks, the temptation of which he could not easily resist, and would sometimes drink to excess. This unfortunate propensity is supposed to have been the cause of his cruel and untimely death.

THE CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION

- 614 2. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
 3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
 4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-na, Scratch the Path
 5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
 6. Muh-ho-we-kli'-ken, Old Shin
 7. Nool-li-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
 8. Muh-krent-har'-na, Root Digger
 9. Mur-karm-huk-sa, Red Face
 10. Koo-wi-ho'-ke, Pine Region
 11. Oo-chuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher
 12.

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.¹³⁰ There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

614 Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's
 615 gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern; when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

615 In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of
 [622] the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Ac-
 [582] culturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."¹³⁰ The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuskit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pileo for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."¹³¹ For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature is common, and their own chiefs and council of three."¹³² According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

¹³⁰Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

¹³¹Morgan, 1859, MS.

¹³²Harrington, 1913, p. 210; O.A., J.T.
¹³³Speck, 1931, p. 75.

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powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.¹³⁹ This position was gained through inheritance.¹⁴⁰ Morgan agreed with him, saying: 615

A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum... late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner... a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.¹⁴¹

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.¹⁴² The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Minsi.¹⁴³ Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.¹⁴⁴ As early as 1824 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Minsi group.¹⁴⁵ There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it. 114

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. 622●
"When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."¹⁴⁶
Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

Their government is by kings, which they call sachams, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Morgan, 1877, p. 175.

¹⁴²Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 81-82; Brin-ton, 1386, p. 39.

¹⁴³Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 81-82.

¹⁴⁴Harrington, 1913, p. 209.

¹⁴⁵Trowbridge MS.

¹⁴⁶Holm, 1834, p. 133.

¹⁴⁷Penn, 1682, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 336, and Zeinberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

- 622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.¹⁴² Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.¹⁴³

- [619] In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.¹⁴⁴ By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups.

- 623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:¹⁴⁵

Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure.¹⁴⁶

Denton said:

- 623 When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his mind tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots first, though at never such a distance, & then happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his — which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴²Lindstrom, 1925, p. 206; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

¹⁴³Pastorius, 1912, pp. 425-26.

¹⁴⁴Lindstrom, 1925, pp. 128-30.

¹⁴⁵Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zetserberger, 1910, pp. 92-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

¹⁴⁶Penn, 1682, pp. 244-45.

¹⁴⁷Denton, 1845, p. 10.

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It should be noted, then, that a sachem's duties were administrative, legislative, and judicial. The duties of these chiefs were on the whole fairly simple; their power was in no sense autocratic. They carried out the wishes of the people directly through the council and indirectly through informal pressure. To retain their position they had to be "...gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable, and their house is open to every Indian."¹³⁴ It appears that incompetent chiefs could be deposed.¹³⁵ 622

Morgan stated that there were two war chiefs, subordinate to the principal chiefs in peacetime. War chiefs gained their rank through leading a number of successful war parties, and were often those individuals who had had visions indicating that war was their vocation.¹³⁶ By this time (1850) the phratry heads were the political leaders, and one of these men was the principal chief.¹³⁷ If the war chiefs unanimously favored war, the civil chief had to give his consent.¹³⁸ Political as well as military power was then in the hands of the war chiefs. 624

Informal Controls

Individual behavior was controlled primarily by family and kinship groups, rather than by special institutions. Europeans were surprised to learn that Indian behavior was so well regulated: 627

Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be.¹³⁹

Penn said:

The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, "that she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."¹⁴⁰

A number of other sources have noted that the laws of the wergild were enforced.¹⁴¹ Denton said:

The friends of the murdered person do revenge upon the murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: This money is made of a Periwinkle shell of which there is black & white, made much like unto beads & put upon strings.¹⁴²

¹³⁴Zeisberger, 1910, p. 93.

¹³⁵Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 47-48; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95; Heckewelder, 1821, pp. 107-11; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

¹³⁶Zeisberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, 1794, p. 142.

¹³⁷Morgan, 1850, MS.

¹³⁸Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 48.

¹³⁹Zeisberger, 1910, p. 122.

¹⁴⁰Penn. 1882, p. 245.

¹⁴¹Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; De Hasleres, 1909, p. 109; Lindstrom, 1925, p. 205; Wallace, 1947, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴²Denton, 1845, p. 7.

426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the
debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted,
even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the
price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and re-
cover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a
hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obsti-
nately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His
friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the
long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive
him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the
tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such,
has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders
have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and
threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present con-
flict.³³ The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning
to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow
themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as
such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being con-
stantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part
against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to
the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a
kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be.
This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation
is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe
is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the
second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and,
622 together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of
623 national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations
with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be
cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people,
as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole
tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
 Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
 pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every
 Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the
 chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords.
 The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 648
 and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
 has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning 623
 several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have
 arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a sep-
 arate house and provided with every thing at the public expense,
 the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hos-
 pitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst
 other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 622
 must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any
 obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to
 provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other
 women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a
 house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his offi-
 cial duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even
 secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old
 his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians
 will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
 commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- 644
 pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where mes-
 sages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are pub-
 lished. Every one may listen and the messages are also dis-
 cussed. In case there is something of particular importance to
 consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and deter-
 mine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes²⁵⁰ used to
 lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When
 they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indi-
 cated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which
 they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept
 them active and was held in great esteem.

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the

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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.²⁰⁰ In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.²⁰¹ Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.²⁰² The white are a little less in value than the dark.

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Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

622 It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

622 In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.²⁰³ No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Hence, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot. 586

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship. 622

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

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are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

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Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.²⁶⁶ If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

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At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible way. A captain, such as White Eye²⁶⁷ was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

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A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.²⁶⁸ If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

202 the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great
623 affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the
648 rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the
men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman
removes it.

622 Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

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wampum and the speaker receives an answer, a solemn promise, 622●
from the young people that they will fulfill their obligation. He
likewise addresses the wife of the new chief, who is present
attended by several women, and admonishes her to be obedient
to the chief. This is confirmed by means of a belt and the
woman, in the name of all the women, promises obedience.
Finally, he lays before the chief the duties of his office, regard-
ing the preservation or re-establishment of peace, admonishing
him not to meddle in the affairs of war and to keep his people
from it, to continually attend to the welfare of his nation and
to hear willingly the remonstrances of the people in case he
should commit a fault. All this is intoned and the belts given
in confirmation are laid before the chief. He promises to act
in strict conformity to these injunctions.

The new chief thus enters upon his office by consent of the
tribe and whole nation. He is placed, therefore, in a position
of influence. He is loved and honored of his people and aided
by them in his undertakings. Whoever obtains the office of
chief in any other way is not respected. This is the case with
the successor of Netawatwes, who was chosen by Europeans
prominent in Pittsburg.²⁰³ Such a one amounts to nothing and
is held in no greater esteem than any other Indian. He can
accomplish nothing, for neither the other chiefs nor the coun-
sellors nor the people are with him. Thus the Delawares at
present have no real ruler, to whom they are devoted and from
whom they are willing to take counsel. This state of affairs
will continue until they elect a chief in accordance with their
own usages.

If a chief has made mistakes, he may be admonished by the
whole people and is obliged to give attention to them. For
any grave fault, which may prove injurious to the common-
wealth — for instance if he suffers the young people to commit
outrages or murders, which may be laid to the charge of the
whole nation and involve it in war, or if he should not do any-
thing to prevent such misdemeanors in the first instance — he is
reprimanded by the two other chiefs, with the same ceremonious
solemnity used at his installation, must be willing to take the

622 reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

101 The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellotwen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.⁹¹

211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. [532] The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

726 If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

614 social unit was exogenous remains indeterminate; in the ~~nineteenth~~ century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogenous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local
623 groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

"Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...

I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, because what he should say, was the King's mind...

During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form ¹¹ (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). 712 193

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted to give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143).

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE TREATMENT [USED] BY THE SAVAGE FEMALES AGAINST BIRTH PAINS.

*These Indians are a bestial people and have¹⁸¹
their intercourse together with father, mother,⁸³³
brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one
knowing rightly who is the father of the child;¹
but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to⁶²²
himself, not because he intends to conceive chil-
dren with her alone, but because his government
and household exists as under a family,² about
which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter.
This his wife, she must manage his entire house-⁴²⁸
hold like a matron who always, in the absence of
the sachem, must guard his property, which be-
comes her possession after his death.*

*When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride⁵³⁵
must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,²⁹⁴ al-
though they do not know what a year means, yet⁸⁰⁵*

¹ Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

² *Hans undherhafwando Regiment och Hushåldningh består lijk som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

³ "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN, WARFARE, GOVERNMENT AND GUNS OF THE AMERICAN SAVAGE PEOPLE.

*Concerning this,*¹ [if can be said that] those who² are the sachems of the Indians do not know how to take such into observation; but those who are rulers retain the mastery and command, children after children, those who are male persons, whose subjects are to be submissive and obedient, which they [also] are,³ attempting nothing else than to live up to that [which] they are commanded [to do], and in case they do otherwise, then he who is sachem holds them to strict justice that he without pardon,⁴ when [someone is] caught in the act, consigns the same to death. And if any savage⁵ of one nation kills one of another, immediately he sends one of his subjects to the same nation and stealthily has one of them killed, whereby at once war is caused between them. Further, they follow⁶ no other law or justice, but in whatever manner anyone unjustly suffers from the other, they immediately revenge on one another, like for like.⁷

¹ Concerning the origin of the government, i.e., the chiefship of the Indians. The idea is that the sachems do not know anything about the origin of the people or of their own families, or how their families at first were raised to the rank of rulers.

² *Thet the ooh äro.* "This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteem them Gods as Herod among the Jews." Williams, *Key*, 63.

³ *Uthan pardon.*

⁴ The chief.

⁵ "If any robbery fall out in Travell, between Persons of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice; if no Justice be

- 411 In military matters and warfare these Indians
714 are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no
● 622 reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].⁶
- 651 They know nothing of taxation and they are en-
712 tirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.⁷
- 000 Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.⁸

granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76-7.

⁶ Perhaps my copy is defective here.

⁷ Medh Architecteurer ooh Fortificationer att umgäds är them aldeles okunnigt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

⁸ Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had in-¹⁴⁴
creased some three hundred in number.¹⁶¹

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered ¹⁰¹
through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few ⁴²³
of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the
allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold
when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were for-
tunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their ⁴³⁴
fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the ^[427]
houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous
than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized
by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and sub-^[427]
sist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their
gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.
There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish
them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also
reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do
for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware ⁷⁷
maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions ⁷⁷
of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the
offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the
clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the
entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been ⁶⁶
elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have ⁶²²
an official representative to treat with the Federal Government
on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of
the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated
a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief
and the one getting the next highest number became assistant
chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who
was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has
been no recognized chief.

¹Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (Senate Reports, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681

W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682

W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256-259. *Revenge of murder*

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them.

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. *Desertion of children*

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. *Ceremonies*

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of $\frac{1}{2}$, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one

- 224 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

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776
796] The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. *Celebration on returning from hunting*

- [782
776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. *Extirpation of beard*

- 302 J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that [142] recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
 157 have been owing to the fact that they were
 much more restricted in childhood than
 their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware
 542 society was there the model of anyone
 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
 622 father ruled the roost at home in an
 625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no
 power to enforce their wishes, and there
 was no conception of a state with police
 586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent
 and could be initiated by either party
 simply leaving the other.³⁶ Supernatural
 776 beings, were not Jehovah-like Gods who
 regularly punished the wicked and re-
 warded the good; the Delaware reckoned
 rather with a supernatural guardian spirit
 who acted as a comrade and friend who
 would assist his mortal protege in critical
 passes. Shame and pride are more frequent
 themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
 577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century
 Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual
 purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical
 conduct, but rather . . . through the
 observance of taboo regulations prescribed
 by ancient rulings."³⁷

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
 577 the Delaware often did not develop a
 strong authoritarian, coercive conscience;
 moral values (which certainly were recog-
 nized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic
 character; "good" and "bad" had a light
 affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
 626 in less discipline and autocracy than was
 fashionable in eighteenth century Europe,
 was still puzzled as to how a society without
 authority could hold together. "Judged by
 the mere appearance of the Indians," he
 wrote, "one is surprised how modest and
 careful they are in relation to each other
 and imagines that the whites, if they were
 as free a people and had neither govern-
 ment nor punishment to fear, would not
 626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians
 appear to be."³⁸ This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.

37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.

38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[p 51 (C)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting

fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in
the Algonquin race which I have found.

Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands
the children are of the tribe of the mother,

[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve
years and for 22 years an Indian mission-
ary. I shall verify this perfectly before I

• 622 leave. The young man also says that the
office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as

he thought, and that a brother or nephew
succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was

535 not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
the names of 16 of the dances, all he could
remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good
deal more of their relationships than we
did, and if there was the least particle of
relationship they were glad to find it. He

[582] says that in old times near relatives could
not marry, but now they married as near as
our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe
has no right to use the names of another
tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the
names can be readily distinguished from
one another, but I must inquire further
about this. He seemed to think the same
name might be used by another tribe, in
which case it would be slightly varied. The
real truth about the distinctness of the In-
dian names constantly eludes me. ²² I shall
soon think there is nothing in it.

²² [For footnote see category 116,
P. 209 (A) - Analysis]

[52(c)]

142
302
555
793

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

614

[115]

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622

[614]

[611]

"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum⁸⁴ at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[53(A)]

622
[61] tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His name was Ta-ta-ge-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes, ⁸⁴ a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

[186]
553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept distinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773
821 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small,
by which he meant, I suppose, that it was
prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that descent
611 in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum⁹⁰ says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great
chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called
Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the
name of the office, or the title of the person
equivalent to President or King. They also
have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs
together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or
the chiefs. The term also includes the three
head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction
to councillors. The office has no special
name. These two are inferior. If the three
head chiefs decide upon a measure the two
inferior must submit, but if two of the head
chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should
agree and the third head chief should stand
out, the thing could not be done. The principal
power is with the head chiefs. The
three head chiefs can never go out to war,
but the two inferior chiefs may. They are
not, however, called war chiefs. Besides

623 these three the wise and experienced men
of the nation are called councillors or Haha-
che-naw-lee-chick, which means simply
councillors. These have a right to speak in
a council of the chiefs. They can speak of
their own motion without waiting to be
asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak
[562] in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[776] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they
all went to heaven.
⁹⁰ [For footnote, see category 116,
p. 204(c) -- Analysis]

[p 55 (A)]

all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

614 Upon the death of a head chief of the Turde Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[p 55 (B)]

- 614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
 • 622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
 623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the
 person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs
 meet in council and perform the ceremony
 of investing him with his office.
- 622 The war chiefs are selected and made
 such by the Head Chief without consulting
 the people, but not so with the Head Chief.
- 241 The Delawares are very well advanced
 as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
 342 they were living in bark houses. Now many
 177 of them are living in frame houses two
 stories and 2½ stories high, some with a
 veranda in front the whole length, and they
 have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
 231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
 422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons,
 and all kinds of farming implements. Their
 future prospects are certainly very flattering
 if they push on as they have here. Their
 248 women are interfered with a good deal by
 563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
 557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that
 as advancing. It would be so were their hus-
 bands respectable.
- 657 With their large annuity of \$50,000 per
 annum, the best timbered lands in the state,
 and sufficient of them to give them all large
 farms, there is no reason why they should
 not become both agriculturalists and re-
 spectable citizens of the state. When they
 000 become wealthy farmers as some of them
 now are, their children will intermarry re-
 spectably with our white people, and thus
 the children will become respectable and,
 if educated, in the second and third gener-
 ations will become beautiful and attractive.
 This is to be the end of the Indian absorp-
 tion of a small portion, which will improve
 and toughen our race, and the residue run
 out or forced into the regions of the moun-
 tains.